

# • YOUNG INDIA

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No. 8

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## About a "Tolerable Autocracy"

*Charles Edward Russell*

## • A Mohammedan War?

*An Editorial*

## India—a Factory of Skeletons

*An Editorial*

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## The Dying Men

By ANANDA CHAKRAVARTY

Mughal painting forms a brief but brilliant episode in the history of Indian art. It rose under the patronage of Akbar, flourished under Jahangir, passed into rapid decline under Shah Jahan, and was even through the long reign of Aurangzeb, and on the eighteenth century still produced occasional masterpieces. In form and spirit it is widely divergent from Hindu art, resembling the contemporary Rajast painting only in the fact that the paintings are executed on paper and are usually of portable size. Rajast painting is an art of feeling and ideas, essentially of a religious character and expressing the experience of the popular life in the home of a spiritual domain, using the language of the village and the home, and, however exquisite, rarely reaching a parade of skill. Mughal painting is a purely art, purely secular in outlook, profoundly interested in individual character, and primarily of borrowed interest: it rarely departs from its essential theme of portraiture. It differs from Persian art—through Persian influences of the school of Akbar's art still predominant in the time of Akbar, one of the greatest collectors of illustrated books who has been known—for the fact that the former is mainly an art of book illustrations with religious interest while the Mughal painting mainly represents portable pictures, each complete in itself, and representing actual persons or events—in the words recorded in Akbar's own *Din-i-Illahi*, "before we have ourselves seen and heard." This interest in representation makes the Mughal painting on the whole a lighter art than that of the Rajast schools, but in the analysis of

personality it is far stronger, and as its divided work also possesses of the individual human and lifts the art of representation far above the plane of mere aesthetics to one of vast intention and of spiritual vision. This is the case particularly in a well known portrait of the Hindu saint Chaitan Indragiri and likewise in the painting of a man or dying man, by an unknown painter (figure next opposite) of the school of Jahangir (about—about A. D.). The reality of life and death is refreshingly delineated, without any touch of sentimentality: this is the necessary order of nature, and being thus so plainly in the painting, one may realize as clearly as from the words of Krishna, that one should not grieve for a man that may not be recovered.

The picture is unique, for one perhaps there is nothing so worked, and we have nothing in a spiritual or aesthetic sense by lack of knowledge of the scenes of the real world and of the artist. This is a work that can hold its own in any circumstances: secure from criticism or comparison because it is unrepeatable. The man reclines and the central figure are inseparably related, nothing could have been otherwise than as it is. One realizes, what is not to be forgotten, that it is not the classic method or the real case method in itself that makes a work of art superior, but the intensity of vision, the variety or clarity of intention.

It may be added that a study is made charming for the same subject, possibly even finer than the finished painting may be seen in the Museum of the Arts in Boston.

YOUNG INDIA, August, 1927



YOUNG INDIA  
Mughal Painting, School of Jahangir, about 1614-16  
(British Library, Library, England)

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## Editorial Notes

### India in U. S. Policy.

At the recent Convention of the Committee of 48 and the American Labor party, held in Chicago, in favor of a new party, a resolution was adopted expressing sympathy for India in her struggle for independence. The resolution reads, in part:

"Whereas the Indian people are deprived of fundamental and full rights of free citizens in their own country, and as one part of the British Empire,

Whereas Great Britain's hold on India is purely for the purpose of world imperialism which is a serious menace to world peace and world freedom,

Whereas the British Government is oppressing the people of India by wholesale arrests and without instant measures of an armed and powerful people to be found in America and other parts of India,

Whereas the people of India are being de-moralized and demoralized by the British Government's deliberate policy of systematic cultivation of caste, the narrow, horrid, of systems, and the spread of the opium habit by licensing more than 10,000 opium dens where more than 1,000,000 pounds of opium are being annually consumed by the Indian people,

Whereas millions of people in India are the victims of starvation caused by economic measures due to ruin and destruction of industries and the economic drain of India by the British government,

Therefore be it resolved, That the Committee of 48 and the Labor Party in session

now assembled in Chicago, July 28-29, 1920 not only extend their sympathy to the people of India in their struggle for independence but hope the people of India will achieve their political independence from a foreign power and establish a real political and economic democracy."

The resolution was presented by Mr. Turkelius Das of the Friends of Freedom for India.

### British Labor and India

That British labor is in sympathy with the struggle of the Indian masses for emancipation was strikingly evidenced at the recent conference in Scarborough, England, held by the British Labor Party. India was represented by one Indian—Mr. R. P. Wadia.

The Conference emphatically declared itself in favor of the application of the principle of self-determination to India, Russia, and China. Protests against and condemnation of the repressive measures adopted by the British Government in the Punjab in 1919 were also expressed, and a resolution was passed deploring the "arrest and barbarous actions of the British officers in the Punjab," extending sympathy "to the sufferers by these inexcusable atrocities" and saying that "all officials concerned be

went in a criminal court, and that the Youngs be expelled."

The *London Daily Herald*, organ of the labor party in England, editorially commenting on the procedure at the Conference, says:

"The Conference showed unambiguously that British labor views these manifestations of violence in India with abhorrence, and that the rulers of a large government are repulsed by the mass of the British people. Johnson, Beilby, and Suggs are free lances beyond the shadow of a doubt; but, while the British Government holds down its back, the British workers draw their respective conclusions. The Liverpool Conference has led the government to know that whatever further steps are taken to restrict workers in the organized countries will be taken in absolute defiance of the considered opinion of the British working class."

We are happy to note this clear-cut attitude of the British labor party, and hope that the sentiments so clearly and boldly uttered will be followed to where the true cause has their expression on behalf of the Indian masses in their struggle for independence.

### Indian Suffragettes

It is gratifying to read that at the Conference of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance held in Geneva, Switzerland, in June, 1920, India was represented by two of her ablest daughters, Mrs. M. M. Sen, and Mrs. Sarojinī Naidu, the well known poetess—dressed the Conference on behalf of the women of India.

The speaker emphasized the thought that the cause of women in India and the cause of women throughout the world was the same, and that more sympathetic relations in common, etc., should be stated in the way of a perfect understanding between the women of

the West and those of the East. A short history of the suffrage movement in India was presented by Mrs. Tata. The Indian representatives were, on the whole, most cordially received and were made to feel, throughout the session, that women all over the world respect and honor the women of the East for their high ideals, and for their unflinching persistence in fighting for their ideals.

### A Serious Situation

Further developments in the attitude of the Mohammedans of India toward the Turkish Settlement are indicated in latest despatches from India. Through the "Non-Cooperation with the Government" Movement which was described by us in the June number, the Mohammedans of India and their Hindu counterparts are planning to force the British Government to take action toward securing such modification of the Turkish Peace Treaty as will make it more acceptable to the Indian Mohammedans. At a Conference held in June at Allahabad, Mr. M. E. Ghandi, the leader of the *Swatopasha* (Passive Resistance) movement in India announced that the Non-Cooperation movement would be put into effect on August 1st.

"The course that the movement should pursue," declared Mr. Ghandi, "would be graduated in four stages, and are usually in working out the first of them; His Excellency, the Viceroy, should be approached and given notice of our demands so that the Turkish peace terms were revised in conformity with the Mohammedan demands, and so that it was not done, to resign and join the movement of Non-Cooperation." Many resolutions were passed at the meeting

relating the settlement of the audience with regard to the Treaty. An Executive Committee was appointed to organize a volunteer corps, with branches all over the country, to collect subscriptions, and to prepare the Indian public for the Non-Cooperation movement.

The movement involves:

- 1) Giving up all titles and honors conferred by the Crown.
- 2) Resignation from all government offices not from the Legislative Councils.
- 3) Resignation of officers and soldiers from all army duties.
- 4) Refusal to pay taxes.

The movement is virtually a general strike against British policy in the East and promises most serious consequences.

### Britain and Turkey

The gravity of the Turkish problem has been fully discussed and outlined by *Foreign Affairs* in English monthly, in a special supplement to the July issue. Commenting on the general aspects of the situation, and the relation of the issue to the British people, the editors write:

"Britain stands on the threshold of one of the greatest crises in her Imperial history. Upon the issue, of course, collaborating in the Asiatic resources, which have done so much to encourage Indian opinion, has come the Turkish Treaty. That Treaty has converted the Mohammedans world from and to and, in return, a more vigorous Indian principle of nationality and self-determination of peoples. In efforts Mohammedanism and, therefore, a large section

of Indian religious sentiment is in pre-eminent depths. It binds innumerable pledges given to India, and to the world by the existing British Government and by its predecessors. It makes a Turkish war, in which the Arabs—who fought by the Treaty—will probably make common cause with the Turk Nation almost inevitable.

"The worst case in this country (Great Britain) may not be first sight present that the religious convictions of 50 million Indian Mohammedans concern him in the least. But he happens to be ultimately responsible for the machine which is actually preventing these 50 million Indian Mohammedans. If that machine breaks down it is he who will be called upon by his voters to mend it. He may think that the Turkish Treaty is not a matter he needs to worry about. But on the Turkish Treaty is involved not only British rule in India, but the whole Near East and Middle East problems.

"And these problems are costing the British taxpayers a pretty good figure every day. We have 12,545 British troops in Constantinople, 31,000 in Egypt, 20,000 in Palestine, and 70,000 in Mesopotamia, and they are costing us at the present moment just under £40 million a month (£40,000,000.)"

These figures, quoted by the editors, are sufficient to show that in the Turkish issue are involved men and money, not from the Mohammedan world, but from Europe, and that not only the Turks and the Mohammedans of India will suffer from the Allied decision, but all of the nations of Europe as well.

### Modern Migration

From Constantinople comes news of Mohammedan attempts to attract the sympathy of revolutionaries in India for the cause of Afghanistan who are (according to an Associated Press dispatch) at present working to succeed the Sultan of Turkey as Commander of the Faithful (religious head of the Mohammedans). A series of conferences are being held in Afghanistan, in which representatives from India are expected to be participating. A movement is already on foot in India for the migration of Indian Mohammedans to Afghanistan. To date it has been reported that 2,500 have already left India, and 25,000 have arrived since the Government of Bombay of their intention to leave the country.

The currency of the Turkish situation becomes more apparent if one bears in mind the very recent ultimatum issued by the Allies to Turkey, that if the army is not recalled by Turkey by July 25th "the Allies will effect the Turks from Europe once and for all."

### Amnesty for India?

In December last a Royal Commission was pronounced by King George to be unneeded on political prisoners in India. Most of the leaders of the Bengal revolutionary group were released under this, including among them Bhikish Chatterji, who was also the Punjab leader, Bha. Paramahansa. But the Bombay revolutionary leaders are not included in prison, the government disavowing their dangerous to public safety. Among them are the Kherkar brothers, who were transported to the Andamans

Islands in 1909 and 1910. Both men, although they were convicted for alleged revolutionary activities, have declared, recently, that their political opinions have changed, and that if they were set free they would work under the New Government of India. Asa Dutt, these assurances and to some disregard of the numerous persons which have been persecuted to the Viceroy the government has decided that the brothers can not be released. The prison grounds on which this action is based have not been made public. We can only express our deep regret at the government's action and extend our sympathy to the friends of the Kherkar brothers who are working for their release.

### Barbarities in Fiji, Too

Many facts have been published by us from time to time of the struggles of the Indian workers in Fiji. The strike in February last did much to expose the rotten foundation on which the system of exploitation in the Fiji Islands is built. A detailed account of the situation in February was submitted recently to the Stanley Committee by Dr. Mansel, for many years a resident of Fiji. The account is a severe indictment of the methods and policies pursued by the British Government towards its Indian subjects.

"Throughout the whole period," says Dr. Mansel, "the Fiji (British) Government has used its power to oppress the Indian workers by depriving them of their 'levies' (legislation upon their leasing is greater of more than five, and brings more than seven times as much) and such finally by making a penal for Indian men or women to fill up of their homes without permits which were not

granted without a promise to go back to work in the old estate of Fiji. Many have paid and families not provided with a house for such work which is lost forever."

It was the power of the white population to punish and over three Indian women was disturbances where the rights of men resulted by these brutal treatments (and the days of slavery, except the Indian men can rise. As a result of such systematic and cruel treatment of the Indian population by the whites, a large of native men in Fiji and the few Indian in charge a house which he can never forget. Whether under conditions or not, the Indian in Fiji must remain a slave to the rule of the white population. The systematic practice of the system of forced labor has given place to systems which has made a contract of every Indian and the conditions as well as the best which are obtainable because their very lives are the last moment of life in India for many deplorable wages on of the huge profits made by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company.

"Conditions in India in the during days of the Mughal rule were not more than those which exist in the Fiji Islands to day. The white owned companies gave the Indians of women-and who is there to protect them against them? Every one is oppressed. It was spread amongst the Fijian Representatives in Fiji and many have in general nature for fear of being considered by white men."

The general conditions of the Indian laborers have been strikingly revealed in a White paper issued recently by the Legislative Council of Fiji, on the labor situation in 1918. The official report emphasizes especially the developments in the underpaid labor system. Although the conditions of underpaid labor are, normally, being remedied, the report declares the fact that actual slave labor still exists, and is not disappearing. It declares:

"A number of underpaid laborers, whose terms were to expire in 1918, were again bound over to their masters, to make up for all the time lost to the employers by reason of breaches of the

remigration conditions, and for returned officers." This is in line with the policy that has been pursued in the Fiji Islands for the past ten years, of constantly working, and finding ground for the recruitment of underpaid servants whose terms of service are about to expire.

On wages the report says:

During the year 1918 there had been an approach towards the existing average of Indian and non-Indian on plantation, the average earnings in 1918 being, on the rate of males 12 pence (£ 1.10) per day and females 8.11 pence (£ 1.11) per day. In 1917 the amounts respectively were 10.12 pence (£ 1.07) and 7.11 pence (£ 1.14).

In other words, the increase in wages on the rate of male and female workers has been three cents per day. Think of men and women compelled to labor for such wages as these!

It is evident, from continued oppression by the whites in Fiji, that the British policy of prolonging the underpaid system is resulting in further feeling in the colony. The underpaidness involved that is now being exposed will undoubtedly work an outlet for further oppression and further protest, even if not for something still more drastic.

### India's High Goal

We have nowhere seen a finer statement of the high goal which India's best minds cherish for their country and are striving to realize than the closing paragraph of the Presidential Address of the Honorable Mahatma Nehru, President of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar in December last. We have been told times out of number by persons prejudiced against Indians and by Englishmen concerned in keeping India in subjection to Great Britain,

that the Indian people have few ideals compared with those of Englishmen, that their leaders are intellectually and morally inferior to their English rulers, that they do not know what they want and want, as do the despots who rule govern them, that they do not possess the wisdom to direct their own life as well as Englishmen can direct it, that they have no independence of thought, that their ambitions of no moment, that their ambitions of no moment, it is to be much surprised at their foreign countries, and that if left to themselves, they would recognize and practice democracy. Let persons charged with these ideas and President Nehru's address. Says that eminent Indian leader:

"What is India's goal? We want freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom to Indians use their destiny and build up an India suited to the genius of her people. We do not wish to make of India a cheap and slavish imitation of the West. Western democracy has not proved a panacea for all ills, it has not solved the problems which surround us. Europe is torn asunder by the conflict between labor and capital, and the proletariat is taking its lead against the rule of the classes. It may be that when we get the power to model our institutions we shall evolve a system of government which will blend what is best in the East and the West. Meanwhile, let us beware of the errors of the West and at the same time cast out the evil customs and traditions which have clung to us. We must aim at an India where all are free and have the fullest opportunity of development, where women have regard to be in knowledge and the rights of the caste system have disappeared—

where there are no privileged classes or communities, where education is free and open to all, where the capitalist and the landlord do not oppress the laborer and the poor, where labor is respected and well paid, and poverty, the evil enemy of the present generation, is a thing of the past. Life will then be worth living in this country, it will be acquired by joy and hope, and the terrible misery we are doomed to will become a bad dream which has faded away from our memory, so that we are ready to welcome the morning sun."

"That day is yet distant. We have got a dreary path, full of obstacles and pitfalls, before us. Let us march ahead, with truth for our guide and courage, not timidity, and we shall reach the promised land."

We challenge any one to point a nobler goal than this. And the goal has not doubt for India is not that of President Nehru alone, it is essentially that of the Indian National Congress, the most representative organization of the nation; it is essentially the goal of all the men whom India must trust in her leaders.

Such an India as here portrayed, of independence, of enlightenment, of education for all, of freedom to shape her own destiny and to develop according to her genius, would contrast with the material, exploited, illiterate, oppressed India which the world sees today as the result of the years of foreign domination and oppression in day contrast with night. To be sure, such a goal cannot be reached in a day under any rule. Indians will understand that the while India is a slave nation the goal cannot be reached at all. (P. T. S.)

### Indian Situation in a Nushell

There is a famous saying of Mahatma concerning the British Tory party in England of his day, which exactly describes the present British Government in India. (Said Mahatma)

"It is the nature of the Tory spirit that instead of removing a grievance they try to put down an opinion."

Here, in a nutshell, is the whole story of the Punjab troubles of last year. The people felt that they had very serious grievances. Rightly they agitated for the removal of these. A wise, just and unassailable government would have seen to it that all just causes for complaint were put away. Not so the Indian government. They in spirit, however in spirit, ignorance, intolerance, selfishness in spirit, it stopped on even to the just cause of the people and "instead of removing a grievance," it brutally, crudely determined by methods of blood and iron "to put down an opinion."

Unfortunately, the Punjab instance does not stand alone. It is only the latest, and a probably shadowing illustration of a general policy. Every student of the history of British rule in India knows that from the beginning on down of persons have been so constantly frowned on and persecuted by the government as the educated leaders who have dared to point out India's wrongs and agitate for their reform. The Indian National Congress made up of the best minds of the nation, whose work has always been constitutional, constructive, and unimpeachable has from its very inception been held in strong disfavor by the Government because it dared to express the grievances of the people and ask for the removal of the wrongs.

Indian laws of the various chambers have been kept constantly hanging over the heads of the people, like a sword of Damocles. Because they have dared to express the nation's grievances and agitate for reform, hundreds of individuals have been imprisoned, and thousands of the best and most honored men in India have been thrown into prisons or banished to the remoteness of the Andaman Islands, often without trial or any opportunity for defending themselves.

It was hoped that when the war was over and India had shown such loyalty and had rendered to England such large and important services, that there would be a change in the spirit of the government. But all such hopes have been dashed. The spirit of suspicion, of repression, of tyranny, of arrogant, of downright brutality in dealing with the Indian people has not been so much as within the past two years. It is this spirit to continue. Much has been said about the great "New Reform Scheme," about the "New Government of India Act," by which India is to be put on the road to constitutional government, to home-rule, to self-determination. Let nobody be deceived. Unless there is a complete change in the spirit of the British Government in India, and in the British Government in London in its dealings with India, the New Reform Scheme can prove nothing but camouflage. So long as the spirit of British rule in India is that of "putting down opinions" instead of removing the cause and "removing the grievance"—India has nothing to hope for from Great Britain.

Will Britain radically and completely change her spirit and policy toward India? We shall see. (P. T. S.)

## Education—India and Egypt

Egypt, during all the years of her subjection to Great Britain, has had the most experience in India in regard to education. Her British masters, while professing to have education, have blocked it in every possible way. The Egyptians have asked to have a reasonable share of their tax revenues spent for schools. But the British Government has needed the money for its own use and otherwise in strengthening its hold upon the country, and moreover it has recognized that a nation kept in ignorance can be more easily managed, dominated and held in subjection than one that is educated. And in the demands of the Egyptian people for schools have been constantly quenched, and it has long been plain to them that their only possible hope for bringing their country abreast of modern enlightenment lies in independence.

Said Rashid Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, to Mr. Herbert Adams Gibb, late, during the sitting of the Versailles Conference: "We Egyptians were content of the revenues of our country so that we may educate our children. One of our principal sufferments of British rule is to have damaged, at the obligation of spending a fair part of the money derived from taxes on the education of the people. The British are deliberately keeping the Egyptians from getting an education, and then they tell the world that we are incapable of governing our selves."

That is exactly the game that has been played in India for more than one hundred years. The British are deliberately keeping the Indian people from

getting an education. Then they tell the world that these people are incapable of governing themselves.

India currently wants universal education for her people just as Egypt does. Can she hope to get it from her foreign rulers? No more than can Egypt! Great Britain gives money in both countries in its only her pastime strong, and to the end and to no other is the determined to devote the principal part of the country's revenues, little matter what interests of the people suffer. In deed, just this kind of thing is what terrible misdeed of one nation by another always means. India's hope and only hope for education lies just where Egypt's does—on *Self-Help*, so that she may control her own revenues and that be able to spend a fair part of the money derived from her taxes on the education of her people.

We are happy to learn that Lala Lajpat Rai has started a new paper in India, a vernacular language of Upper India. The new *Ship* is called "Vande Mataram" (Hail Motherland). From press statements in India it seems that Mr. Rai's ship deserves all of the respect which it is now evoking. Subscriptions to "Vande Mataram" (ay papers a year) may be obtained through Young India office, New York.

See Indian athletes—according to the recent Indian newspapers—left India in June to represent their country at the great Olympic games that are going to take place in Antwerp, Belgium. These athletes are in charge of Dr. A. H. Froese of Bombay.

## News in Brief

To consider the Hunter Report on the Punjab events of 1919 as well as the report of the Investigating Committee of the Indian National Congress, a special session of the Congress is to be held some time this month or next at Calcutta. The Congress will discuss both reports, and will urge the recall of the Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, and the punishment of the officers responsible for the slaughter at Amritsar, and the breakdown connected to the martial law period. It will also discuss the "Non-Cooperation" movement that is being started in conjunction with the Mohammedan ones. It is not yet known who will preside at the Special Session.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, leader of the *Autopursh* (Fasting Movement) movement in India, has recently become the President of the All India Home Rule League. This is the last outcome of Mr. Gandhi into the membership of a political organization. In the statement he issued in conjunction with his acceptance of the presidency he declared that his intention was to utilize the organization for the advancement of causes such as *Swachh* (cultivation of home industries), Hindu-Muslim unity, and the acceptance of Hindutva as the *major* basis of India.

A report from India tells of the martyrdom of three-fourths of a hundred of Irish troops stationed in the Punjab. India, upon receipt by them of news from Ireland of events taking place there, The soldiers expressed their regret at not

longer being able to serve the British Crown and gave up their arms and ammunition.

In the debate in the House of Commons on the Hunter Report on the Punjab disturbances of last year, the members, including Sir Edgar Carson, up held the action of General Dyer in shooting at 1,000 unarmed Indians, as a proper and necessary method of maintaining the British hold on India.

Dr. Rahmadunah Tappan arrived in England recently and is delivering many lectures to enthusiastic audiences. Dr. Tappan has expressed an intention of paying a visit to the United States. We sincerely hope that this plan will materialize, and we extend a most hearty welcome to him.

The Hon. V. J. Patel, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, who is at present in England, has just presented a memorandum to the Rules and Regulations Draft of the Government of India Act of 1919, in which he suggests several changes which should be effected by the government in the Press and qualifications regulations.

Within the past month many young Indians have gathered in this country to pursue studies in American universities. According to information received by us more than 25 such students have come here during June alone. It is extremely gratifying to note the expression evoked by all of these new arrivals for study in America.

## Education—India and Egypt

Egypt, during all the years of her subjection to Great Britain, has had the same reverence to India in regard to education. Her British masters, while professing to foster education, have blundered in as every possible way. The Egyptians have asked to have a reasonable share of their tax revenues spent for schools. But the British Government has needed the money for its army and interference in foreign as well as upon the country; and moreover, it has recognized that a nation kept in ignorance can be more easily managed, so maintained and held in subjection than one that is educated. And so the demands of the Egyptian people for schools have been constantly ignored, and it has long been plain to them that their only possible hope for bringing their country abreast of modern civilization lies in independence.

Said Rashid Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, to Mr. Herbert Adams Gibb, born, during the sitting of the Versailles Conference: "We Egyptians were contented of the revenues of our country so that we may educate our children. One of our principal indictments of British rule is its want of regard of the obligation of spending a fair part of the money derived from taxes on the education of the people. The British are deliberately keeping the Egyptians from getting an education and thus they tell the world that we are incapable of governing ourselves."

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India currently wants universal education for her people just as Egypt does. Can she hope to get it from her foreign rulers? No more than can Egypt! Great Britain's prime concern in both countries is to make her position strong, and to this end and to no other is she determined to divert the principal part of the country's revenues, little matter what interests of the people suffer. Indeed, just this kind of thing is what feasible control of one nation by another always means. India's hope and only hope for education lies just where Egypt's does—in self-help, so that she may control her own revenues and thus be able to spend a fair part of the money derived from her taxes on the education of her people.

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longer being able to learn the British Creed and give up their arms and consciences.

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## About a "Tolerable Autocracy"

(British Rule in India)

By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL

It is claimed that British rule in India is a benefit to the Indian people. Whether this is true or not may easily be determined by reference to a few uncontroverted and undeniable facts.

Great Britain has been as practical as absolute control of India allows for the last years. The following results are apparent:

1. The percentage of illiteracy among the Indian people is very large.

2. The country has repeatedly been swept by terrible famines, all of them preventable.

3. It has been visited by epidemics, such as the bubonic plague, preventable and always controlled and suppressed by efficient government.

4. It is poor and steadily growing poorer.

5. While the whole trend of modern evolution in government has been toward more democracy, the Government of India remains an absolute despotism.

6. The system of taxation is oppressive and unjust, and in some particulars, so, for example, the salt tax is morally heinous.

7. There is taken from the country every year a very great sum for the support of the military establishment and the payment of pensions, and half of this money ever finds its way back. This year by year the country is impoverished.

8. While the great masses of India in agriculture, the methods employed in agriculture remain crude, primitive, and inefficient.

9. Obviously and even admittedly, the chief purpose in the governing of India has been to exploit it for the benefit of the home country. India has made Great Britain rich. Great Britain has made India poor.

Against these facts, unfavorable to the stand of every unprejudiced person who has ever visited India, are urged three points:

1. That the Government of India has been beneficial because it has been British, and British Government is always beneficial.

2. That without British rule the various States and tribes of India would war upon each other.

3. That the problem of Indian Government has been very complex and difficult and we should make credit allowance for good intentions, and withhold comment upon the losses.

I know of nothing more extraordinary than that any American should be influenced in any such grounds to think or speak tolerantly of absolutism. Can there be in this world at this day any such thing as a tolerable despotism? And if America does not stand aside, and observe the few governments everywhere, will some one kindly tell me when she does stand aside? The idea that we are to applaud absolutism because it is British seems somewhat refreshing. What have we to do with that? We are not called upon to admire an autocracy because it is Russian or another because it is Afghan. There is no more reason why we should tolerate it because it is

British. Autocracy is autocracy, by whatever name it be called, and whether it may be it is benevolent, helpful, sympathetic, and generous to the people who live under it.

How is it possible to maintain that British rule, especially and for no other reason than its name, means benevolence, when we remember Ireland?

As to the details of British rule in India, I beg attention to three considerations. Their failure is one illustration. Famine in India was caused by over-cultivation or shortage of the water supply. The total annual rainfall, if it were conserved and distributed, would always be enough for the country's needs. The money expended upon the military establishment would have covered the human distress with irrigation ditches and credit loans impossible.

The whole country is the abode of poverty and misery, ignorance and destitution. Nowhere else on this earth, except in the east end of London, can you see an equal depth of degradation. To go through the populous regions of any Indian city is to be made sick at heart that human beings should dwell in such conditions. After six years of British rule the state of the masses of the Indian people is at least as deplorable as it was before British rule began. Thus when in the act of splitting hairs about good intentions? The bell of India is paved with them, and has been almost mute as a memorial. The worst tyrants of the ancient days might have waged the same plan with the same results. Of the total population of India about 75 per cent are poor, I think it likely, from my observation there, that one-half have never seen money and what it was to have enough

to eat. I was informed that probably 40 per cent live in a state of penurious starvation. Before I distrust the evidence of my own eyes as to British rule in India, some one will have to explain to me how these facts are in any way compatible with the idea of Governmental benevolence or Governmental efficiency, either.

As to the difficulties of the Indian problem, they may be admitted at once. To maintain existing conditions in the twentieth century is very difficult, but observation will tell us that it is any more difficult than it ought to be, nor that there is anywhere on earth any particular difficulty about governing people when you let them govern themselves. The only thing that produces hatred in this world is hatred. The only thing that produces revolt is oppression. The only change that produces envy, resentment, difficulties for men as nations are acquisitive, greed and wrong. The spirit of democracy does not regard any unremovable "difficulties" in government, and finds none.

But not in the conditions in India under the British, there is one phase of this document that is not without its grim humor. While we are being assured of the excellence of the Indian Government, nobody seems to consider how it is maintained. Well, then, how is that done? At the point of the rule. After six years of this style of benevolence, the gratitude of the people is so great that they are barely expected to rise and test their benevolence in prison. It is conceivable that were the Government really good the people would be incessantly plotting revolution? Or that it would be necessary to suppress

and speech among them? Are talked the night of assembly, or watch these things with police cars, but they show no kind of weapons, no doubt among them is less of movement? Every careful observer who has studied in India the problem of India knows perfectly well that nothing keeps the entire population from doing their struggle relies on the fact that the vigilance cars with which some are kept out of secret bands. And unless certain signs are very deceptive, even that precaution is not likely very much longer to prevent an uprising compared with which the revolution of 1917 was moderate, unless, of course, the British are willing to conform to human progress and grant to the people they have so long exploited some real self-government.

I traveled up from Allahabad to Jaipur with an accompanied Englishman whose years in India had not obscured

him with race prejudice and domestic confidence. As we went through villages and saw everywhere the smoking and shining horns turned upon us, the children that do not play and the women who do not smile, and heard everywhere the same murmurings and noises, I said to my companion:

"What is this violence going to burst forth?"

He gripped me by the arm and looked me solemnly in the eye, and said:

"Any moment."

Can there be wide-spread discontent under a good, benevolent, just, and ideal Government? Will vast masses of people risk their lives to cut their throats when there is no good? Do revolutions ever go backward?

And there everything, I ask again. Can there be anywhere on the earth such a thing as a tolerable minority?

## The New Spirit in India

The most outstanding feature that is observable in India today is the new spirit of the people. Any ethnographic tour of the activities in the country for the past year—the strikes, the numerous provincial conferences, the growing movement for Hindu-Muslim unity, the less interest in the New Government of India Act—will reveal and emphasize the change that is being wrought almost daily in the psychology of the man on the street. Within the past year months have been taking place that in their rapidity and novelty, only men's breath away. Fundamental to has been the progress of the labor movement, with its

strikes upon strikes and its growth of labor organizations, no less than its remarkable transition in taking place in the political world. Although modest success, as such, of various bodies in the country are not novel in the history of India, the nature and spirit of the present meetings are evidence of the expanding horizon of the Indian people. But more inspiring than all this has been the achievement of a unity and cooperation between the two great elements of the population—the Hindus and the Mohammedans. Among these have, there of labor organization, of political, social and labor conferences, and of Hindu-

Muslim unity, the Indian people have within recent years been making more progress than ever before.

The strike situation is just now most interesting. According to latest reports there are several important strikes in progress, the chief of these being the strike at the North Western Railway now at six different stations in the Punjab. The reports estimate the number of strikers to be about 30,000. On the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, Bombay, a strike has been called of all the men in the workshops, now being 12,000. In addition, workers in other shops have walked out in sympathy with the strikers on the G. I. P. Railway. In Madras there has also been considerable labor disturbance; the workers in three of companies having struck for higher wages. The latest strike called in is the Electric Supply Corporation of Madras. In all, there have been, according to figures in the *Just India* of the *Madras Review*, 125 strikes within 40 days, from March to May. In Bombay alone there were 85 strikes. These labor movements are significant not only for their frequency, long duration, and for their widespread character, but more especially for the confidence and strengthening of the workers which they have led to. Men have learned to follow almost with surprising rapidity. In the strike among the men on the North Western Railway, much organization work has been done by Lala Lajpat Rai, former editor of *Young India*, who in an interview on the situation, declared emphatically that the greatest problem which India must first solve is her labor trouble, in that of organizing the men in the workshops.

Equation, action has been expressed not only in strikes, but in the increased number of conferences held by various bodies of workers. Within the past three months conferences have been called of clerks, of domestic workers, of postal workers, and of laborers in many industries. The most important among the recent conferences has been that of the Madras Labor organizations attended by representatives from all parts of the province. These conferences mark the first effort of workers in any one industry, or in several industries together, to voluntarily unite to discuss their grievances, and set forth their complaints, as well as their suggestions for achieving better conditions. At the conclusion of the Madras workers the members stood among them demanding the adoption of a twelve hour day, with one day of rest in seven. This request, humble as it is, is extremely, in a sign of the times, of the dehumanization on all sides with the conditions in industry, that all workers in India must live under.

There is also wide participation not only in the industrial but in the political affairs of the country.

At the present time there are a larger number of people interested in politics than ever before since British rule began. At the last session of the Indian National Congress, for example, there were 20,000 delegates and women, an unprecedented number in the history of the Congress. At the Provincial Conference, as well as at the National Congress, many of these persons have been persons, however, and laborers. Women, too, in hundreds unnumbered of numbers, have attended the sessions of the National Congress. Not only are there

larger numbers of persons attending conferences but likewise more conferences. The discussion, in Kanpur, a *Shiksha* in Madras, for the first time in the history of the district, a conference took place recently at which it was proposed that an association be formed to inquire into village conditions, to disseminate information about agricultural improvement and to focus public opinion on questions of the day. Another such conference has been held at the Coimbatore sporting people, to bring about, it was announced, "by constitutional means, the regeneration of the Kharadi by revivifying public spirit among the people, by bring-

ing them together, and promoting the moral, mental, economic and industrial resources of the country."

In all of the conferences and in all public gatherings, the people are constantly being impressed with the necessity of understanding the great world movement of today, and of keeping in touch with the political and economic issues that so vitally affect them. It is a happy surprise—the very spirit is India—in a country of the remoteness of the great India where culture and ideals are so sought to be the idealisation of the civilised world.

## Tagore's Message

A great crime has been done in the name of law in the Punjab. Such terrible eruptions of evil leave their legacy of the ravaging of souls behind them. What happened in Jallianwala Bagh was such a monstrous property of a monstrous war which for four years had been defiling God's world with fire and poison, physical and moral. The consciousness of the sin through which humanity had waded a man in blooded length of agony has led followers in the minds of those who have power in their hands with no check of sympathy within or fear of resistance without. The cowardliness of the powerful who owned no shame in using their machines of destruction upon the unarmed and untrained villagers, and inflicting unspeakable hardships upon their fellow beings behind the screen of an ancient mockery of justice and yet not feeling for a moment that it was the mission born of greed to their own mischief, has become only possible through the op-

portunity which the law now had given to man for constantly outwringing his own higher nature, trampling truth and honor underfoot.

This desecration of the basis of civilization will continue to produce a stain of moral earthquakes, and men will have to be ready for still further sufferings. Thus the balance will take a long time to be restored is clearly seen by the moral ferocity of vengeance consciously tinged and the atmosphere of pain delinquency.

But we have no place in these pages of triumphant power roving the world one less according to their own purposes. What most concerns us is to know that the moral degradation not only poisons the people exhibiting indignation upon the brigades, but also their victims. The destruction of cruel ignorance, confusion of its incapacity, is ugly and mean, but the fear and ignorance upon which they are apt to breed upon the minds of the weak are no less deplorable.

Moreover, when physical force in its arrogant faith in itself tries to crush the spirit of man, then comes the time for him to learn that his soul is indestructible. We shall strive to be ideal and to save actual defeat by clenching to our hearts the dream of righteousness. The time has come for the victory to be the victory in the field of righteousness.

When brother spills the blood of his brother and evades in his sin, giving it a high sounding name, when he tries to keep the blood stains dark on the soil as a memorial of his agony, then God will shake mankind to under his great gaze and the sweet justice of his forces.

We who have witnessed the shameful slaughter of the innocent in our neighborhood—let us accept God's own offer and cover the bloodstains of iniquity with our prayers.

## Indians in British East Africa

It is a well known fact that whenever European powers seek to govern unwarlike peoples they assume at once an attitude of condescension, moral and racial superiority over the conquered. It is the Divine Right of the European attitude, and it is in consequence of this that, in India, the English mind becomes obsessed by calling the Indians "black men, contemptible people," etc. (Mr. E. B. Smith, a British officer, in Kanpur, the Punjab, at the time of the 1919 massacre). It is this attitude which explains the psychology that declares "the life of an Englishman in India is saved" (Governor General of India) while Indian life is so cheap that the shooting of 2,000 people (at Amrit-

Sar) is only, "a grave error." For the true grace comes from the Terrible when you save one soul from fear of suffering and death on the very edge of terror and from righteousness in defiance of injury. Let us take our lesson from his hand, even when the sword of the poor and weak is still fresh,—the lesson that all measures, cruelty, and attack are for the obscuring of virtues, and only the noble and true are his strength.

Let those who wish, try to realize the minds of the future with stress carrying the black memory of wrongs and their agony, but let us be generous to the generations to come somewhat of that only which we can overcome as he is grateful to our torturers who have left us the image of our Buddha who conquered evil, preached forgiveness, and saved his love for and rule in time and space.

and) is only, "a grave error."

Race discrimination is not confined to Indians in India alone. From British East Africa have been coming harrowing accounts of the bitter feeling against the Indian immigrants there. The results in British East Africa for the past several months have been filling columns of our columns of newspapers in India. The situation in the colony becomes even more tragic when we realize that British East Africa owes its very existence to the enterprise and initiative of the Indian natives who are now being deprived of every liberty and right. Indians bought on the British ship to win for the empire the richness of Africa. At the present time the Indian population

in British East Africa is the view, that of the Europeans, there being but 4,000 European settlers and 700,000 Indians. Of the waste of the colony the picture painted is by the Indian system. Indian construction and building have erected most of the buildings on the various reservations. Indian lands have been established in every important centre. "To ensure a progressive culture for the Empire, Indians have been increasing in great numbers in the East African coast, and as compensation—British is always compensating her Empire-builders (we note the Rhodes Act), in a reward for the India that had shed her own precious blood to make the world safe for British rule (guiding)—a usually generous one, and has been, for several years past, an effort to deprive Indian natives of every right which they should enjoy by virtue of their untiring efforts in the creation of British East Africa. In 1908 the campaign began when Lord Elgin, as a despatch to the Governor of the dependency, wrote:

"In our discussions with the views of His Majesty's Government in regard legal restrictions on any extension of the Indian community, but in a matter of administrative convenience, great should be made in India in official work." (See India.)

What Lord Elgin means by "administrative convenience," we do not know, though we suspect that the reservation was placed upon Indian building land as a matter of convenience to Europeans. Since the proclamation of 1908, the idea of the inferiority of Indian natives has been more boldly expressed. An "Association of East Africa" composed of European planters, officers, and business men, at a recent convention held expressly for devising ways and means

for the protection of the "natives," declared as objects to be to change the whole character of the community by the stoppage of Indian immigration and the gradual elimination of the Indian population. Restrictions on land holding and on immigration constitute but two phases of the plan of attack on the Indian community. A third has been the denial of franchise rights to the Indian natives. Indeed, the European community has opposed the extension of the franchise to Indians, "in the interests of the natives." So numerous are the European settlers that the natives of the "natives" that will never a slight representation of the "natives" is in the governing councils. To sum up, the Indian population in the "frontier of the empire" is:

1. Excluded from Executive Councils.
2. Forbidden to bid in sales of Crown lands at auction.
3. Segregated in the townships.
4. Deprived of the right to acquire any but the poorest lands.

These constitute the major components of the Indian system in British East Africa. The daily harassment and petty discouragements to which every Indian is subject are too numerous for us to mention. But the unsatisfactory aspect of the mass picture is an appalling prospect on the part of Indians in Africa and outside, that will nothing in service and magnifying the constant efforts by which the Indian community had hitherto hoped to make its place as points.

In connection with what has been said above in regard to the condition of In-

dians in British East Africa, Hon. C. F. Andrews, who recently visited the African colonies at the request of the India Imperial Association in order to investigate the conditions of the Indian people there, says:

The situation in British East Africa and in the Transvaal of last January is almost striking in some respects that are explained by this of course is possible in any country. The more careful and thoughtful treatment in the South African Union told me that the Indian people in the Transvaal were far better than in (H.L.A.). I visited the communities of British East Africa as an unimpaired and disinterested man. I was warmly welcomed in the past that numerous visits were the chief factor in this system but after comparing all this to what I saw in the past I am convinced that the racial factor is the greatest. I have seen with my own eyes the racial treatment of Indians which helps to keep the system.

In 1908 I saw with certain respect. There was a distinct mark of improvement in the condition of Indian natives and it was the system, not the system of the Transvaal. A person that of some years of the years 1900-04 had established, but on the other hand Indian Indians in some places had not been able to rise (as they should have) about about the progress of all interested in raising from India in (H.L.A.). In India, more Indians who had moved their home of course and was improved they in the Indian, having regard to the race in general, these people were actually better than in other days. This Indian population was in coming before the level of the British and the Bantu. While the steadily wages of the Indian have been the monthly wages of the Indian have fallen. I was very greatly disappointed when I visited in other quarters the mismanaged and restricted conditions of the unimproved Indian Indians. Only a very few attempts have a racial improvement taken place. I expect that in the near future Indian problems in the whole of Africa.

## India—A Factory of Skeletons

There is famine in India all the while. The everybody knows who at all acquainted with conditions there. Of course, the severity of the famine varies on different years and in different parts of India, because in some years the rainfall is more abundant than in others and some parts of the land are very fertile while other parts are unwatered. But there is almost a time when somewhere in India people are not doing, and dying in large numbers, from starvation. Even in the most fertile provinces and in years when the rains are most abundant starvation goes on.

One of the reasons for the constant famine is the terrible poverty of the people, who, by a hundred and sixty years of merciless exploitation at the hands of a foreign power, have become

reduced to such destitution that, according to the statement of British authorities themselves, "at least 40 millions, if not 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 of the population never know what it is to have a full meal from year's end to another." Even in seasons when food is abundant there millions are so poor that they cannot buy enough to keep life in their emaciated bodies, and die in sight of plenty.

The world is kept in ignorance of the extent and severity of India's famine by the deliberate policy of the government. It does not want the world to know the terrible facts. Consequently the authorities never admit the existence of famine (that the people are starving) until the deaths become so numerous that the conditions of things can no longer be

holders. The social policy of the government is to allow no deaths to be reported in coming from famine or starvation if they can possibly be disguised under other heads, as most can be. The result is that actually millions of people die from lack of food who are not included in famine reports at all. When in this as that part of the country the rains utterly fail (and government is never made by the government, through the corrupts of government for the saving of grains or masses of people) in times of drought, the number of starving becomes extraordinarily, shockingly, large, and the government sets up relief camps where persons in extremity can come and earn enough money by breaking stones for roads or other labor to live sufficient food—just enough to keep them alive. Of course, these relief camps are better than nothing for those who do believe that half a loaf is better than none. But the camps are never set up until the starvation becomes terrible and large numbers have perished. And even after they have been established they reach only a fraction of the suffering people.

The action of the government is looked upon by many as an expression of its government. But when is the government of reality concerned to let an insignificant fraction of the public revenue, coming from the poverty stricken people, be used to keep some of them from dying by starvation? It is all Indian money, not a rupee of it is contributed by Great Britain, and the work of carrying on the relief camps is usually all done by Indians. If the British desire to show any generosity, or even any justice, why do they not stop draining the country of its wealth,

in their enterprises, and dependencies and, thus prevent the economy for starvation?

In an earlier issue of *Young India* we published an account of a famine which has raged for some time past in the province of Orissa, on the fine coast of India. Recent dispatches show that the famine conditions there, far from being unrelieved, are daily growing worse. The government, to ward off criticism of its culpable indifference to the matter, made a superficial survey of the famine-stricken area and reported no serious outlook. The Indian press and public, however, had come to know of some of the terrible facts and as a result investigations were conducted by the people. One of these, from the "Service of India Society"—an organization dedicated to the service of the country—has brought back a full account of the famine conditions now obtaining in Orissa. We give below a few extracts from his report. Says the investigator:

"Every village, however small, has lost a few men, varying from 3 to 4 dozens, to say one case, 75, due to death from lack of food. Leprosy, typhus, and malarial fever have killed so many men in disease and death. In the forty villages visited so far I have found that 420 persons have died of starvation. The total loss of life in the district so far is about 1200. People are dying of starvation everywhere, but the death reports cease that they have died of disease. Now here follows the list of all that. All the people depend on various wild herbs. Some of these herbs prove fatal, as they are poisonous. . . . People walk almost naked, and women do not come out of their houses for want of clothes. In

one family of 13, I found that one had died of starvation. In this state of things the government is still exacting a tax from the people, taking doors, cooking utensils, etc., in lieu of the tax money. The country has had a double ration—died and later on. When ever one goes he was never released to darkness. One strangles everywhere upon children's berth of parents."

And so the story continues. Village officers are afraid to report the deaths in their houses, and would they name some disease or other as the cause of the deaths. The statement of one such village officer was:

"From my village many have died this year. I cannot exactly say the number. Most of them have died for want of food. I have reported all deaths as due to disease. One of four I have not reported that the deaths were due to starvation. No Chamberlain (village of four) reports that any death is due to starvation. They are afraid to do so. In every case they report a disease for their report."

It is significant that the officers who

made the above statement were taken to the local police station, beaten, and threatened with dismissal.

Famine plans for food and money are being made all over the country for the inhabitants of Orissa. An association called the "People's Famine Relief Committee" has been formed to aid in mitigating the distress. "Famine Government relief has in fact been extended to 5000 of the 20,00,000 population of the affected Province.

Extended comment is unnecessary. Suffice it to say that the condition is steadily growing in India that human life that in Orissa and many others that have perished is (as well as insurance like that which occurred in 1919 at Amritsar) are certain to continue to long as a foreign power rules the country and exploits its people, for its own enrichment and aggrandizement, and that prosperity and consequent freedom from human can never come to the Indian people until they get the government into their own hands, and are able to conduct it for their own benefit instead of for the benefit of strangers.

## Book Reviews

### Books Received

- Bedford & Co.  
*Water's Survey*. By Vladimir Kozlovskiy. Translated by Morton Peck.  
*Three Years of the Revolution*. By Edward Ross.  
*How Russia*.  
*E. P. Dutton & Co.*  
*Behind the History of the After*. By E. C. Woodward.  
*Red Turkey and Greece*. By Richard Dawson.  
*Letters From China and Japan*. By John and Alice C. Henry.  
*Charles Scribner & Sons*.  
*The Empty Talk of India*. By Lokesh.  
*Bedford*.  
*Talks in Europe*. By W. E. P. Allen.

- Macmillan & Co.  
*John's Challenge in the Rural Order*. By J. C. Brown.  
*Revolution in Thought and in Action*. By Harry W. Laidler.  
*Longmans Green & Co.*  
*Indian Memorials*. By R. M. Wilson.  
*J. B. Lippincott*.  
*The Future of India and Its Inhabitants*. By Morris Jones, Jr.  
*From Indian Publishers*.  
*Man and His Environment*. By Ananthi Chakravarti.  
*Madras*. By Mrs. Ananthi Chakravarti.  
*India's Story*. By J. B. Telle.  
*Madras Weekly*. By J. B. Telle.

*Rural Reconstruction in Ireland* By LOVELL-SMITH GORDON and LAWRENCE C. SMITH. Yale University Press, New Haven.

The volume on Rural Reconstruction in Ireland is a record history of the aims, methods, and organization of the cooperative movement in Ireland, in which Mr. George W. Russell, the veteran critic and theorist, has contributed a very able and illuminating preface in which he remarks that the history of economic progress as shown in the cooperative movement in Ireland is a great factor in the confidence of the country. It is not half a century, the authors point out, the pioneers of the Irish Association of Co-operative Societies have actively worked for the economic regeneration of Ireland and have achieved wonderful results, as the book indicates. The problems of Ireland and India, similar as they are in the political sphere, are even more similar in their economic and agricultural conditions. It is to be hoped that students of rural economies in India will be guided by the unique experience of the Irish in cooperative organization. Co-operative efforts in India has taken the form of credit societies to the almost complete exclusion of cooperative societies for manufacturing, buying and selling. In Ireland one development, which has proved of incalculable value to the people, has been the organization of creameries, which Indian might likewise have benefited by in India. The authors give an admirable survey of the economic and social factors which constituted the premises of the Co-operative movement, in the early days of their existence. This is followed by an account of rural legislation in Ireland.

"The authors conclude from their study that the Irish question "is basically an economic question, demanding primarily, an economic remedy." The book, as a whole, is eminently readable and instructive. V. S. K.

*Dark Water*—By W. T. Hargraves De Russ. Harcourt, Brace and Howe, New York.

The intent and genius of Dr. De Russ' *Dark Water* is that in it the race problem is shown to be more correctly in the economic problem and that of these gives an analysis of the world's peoples into producers and consumers that would be no race prejudice. From his rich experience Dr. De Russ draws material for this most arresting and powerful indictment of the terrible system of wrong and injustice that has shot out the darker skinned races from the right to breathe and the right to vote. Besides so show his friends, enjoy the reading, inspired by color. The whole book is like a brilliant musical symphony, in which the chords are many and varied—such a perfect combination of a different emotion and expression which discloses a real reference has taken in the Negro race, "in the beauty of its genius and its strength, in that medium which shall yet achieve the radiance of truth." In the chapter entitled "Work and Wealth" the loss of the Anti-Negro prejudice is traced to its economic sources with the ability of the skilled economist which long years of teaching at Auburn University have made him. Such a chapter as that on the "Domination of Women" is monumental in its value as an exposure of the suffrage, the wit and the achievement of the Negro woman. To

those who are part of the problem because of skin tint, as well as to those who feel their part in it because they know how miserable a world that is built for and held down, this book will serve for

many readings. We recommend Dr. De Russ' work as a potent, singular portrayal of all a problem that is too vast to be ignored by any thoughtful man or woman. R. G.

## Some Books on India

### Political and Economic

Lists of books on India, relating to the history, politics, social life and economic conditions, have been published in YOUNG INDIA several times. We have been asked now to compile another list, under the various captions mentioned above. The following is the first of these lists, and includes most of the books on politics and economics relating to India that are known to us. The list is incomplete, but we hope that our readers and sympathizers will extend their help in future to compile more complete bibliographies. We shall greatly appreciate their sending us names of books, publishers, date of issue, and price.

Some of the books mentioned below can be obtained through YOUNG INDIA BOOKSHOP. These books should also be obtainable at any first-class public library.

BAJEN POWELL, R. E.  
BALKRISHNA  
BENBELL, PROF. P. M.  
BESLAY, CLYDE  
BETHE, W. J.  
CHESTERILL, E.  
CUTTEN, MR. H.  
DAVY, MR. W. M.

DEWE, E.

FLANNERY, M. E.  
GILCHRIST, R. M.  
GILKAT, A.  
HENDLINGTON, E. M.  
HYNEMAN, E. M.  
JACK, J. C.  
KANE, V. G.

KELKER, M. C.  
KETHCAR, S. V.  
KENDRICK, J. M.  
KISH, A. G.  
LUTHER, A.

Lord Statutes of British India  
Indian Councils of India  
Indian Government  
Indian India  
British Rule in India  
Towards Home Rule—J. P. P.  
New India  
'Panchajanya' Ramakrishna  
'History of Finance' Compagnie of India  
India in the Victorian Age  
India Under Early British Rule  
England and India  
Ancient India  
Early Works and Monographs  
Indian Nationality  
Why and How Discontentment  
Governmental Government  
History of India  
Economic Life of a Royal District  
Introduction to Indian Economics  
Indian Industrial and Economic Problems  
The Case for Indian Home Rule  
Essays on Indian Economics  
Indian Currency and Finance  
India in Transition  
History and Economics of Indian Finance

- LOVETT, SIR V.  
MACDONALD, J. R.  
MAZUMDAR, A. C.  
MANN, H. R.  
MOOKERJI, R. K.  
  
MORISON, T.  
MUKERJI  
MUKERJI, P.  
NATESAN & CO.  
NATIONALIST  
    (SAVARAKAR, V. D.)  
NAGARAJ, D.  
NEVINSON, H. W.  
PALJI, R.  
PATRO, A. P.  
  
POLAK, H. S. L.  
RAL, L.  
  
RANADE, JUSTICE  
SARKAR, J. N.  
SAVANI  
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